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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RPCS-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	CORE-00	/043W	
-----D6E867 141951Z /38							

O 141944Z JUL 93  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8161  
INFO WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
CJCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 003423

STATE FOR AF DAS BUSHNELL AND IO/UNP  
SECDEF FOR OSD/ISA AND DAS SEWELL  
JCS FOR J3, J5  
WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS NSC

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, RW  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN RWANDA

REF: A) STATE 210975, B) USUN 2899, C) USUN 3028, D)  
USUN 3046, E) KIGALI 2414

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT  
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2. (C) SUMMARY: IN ANSWER TO REF A, THERE ARE PROS AND  
CONS BEING DISCUSSED WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
REGARDING A UN INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA, REFERRED  
TO IN THE (PENDING) ARUSHA ACCORD AS A NEUTRAL  
INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF). PROBABLY, THE BEST WAY  
FORWARD WILE, BE TO DEVISE AN IMAGINATIVE WAY FOR THE UN  
TO HELP THE OAU UNDERTAKE THE MAJOR PART OF THE  
PEACEKEEPING TASK, ALLOWING THE OAU TO TAP INTO UN  
EXPERTISE, BUT AVOIDING PAYING FOR THE PKO THROUGH  
ASSESSMENTS ON UN MEMBER STATES. THIS NIF IS SEPARATE

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FROM, BUT COMPLEMENTARY TO, UNOMUR (THE OBSERVER AND MONITORING GROUP ON THE UGANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER).  
END SUMMARY.

#### HISTORY

3. (C) THIS CABLE WILL DISCUSS THE SECOND STAGE OF MULTILATERAL ACTION IN RWANDA. AS DOD AND STATE WILL RECALL, THE MANDATE AND OPERATING PRINCIPLES FOR THE FIRST STAGE--A BORDER MONITORING GROUP--WAS NEGOTIATED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF DOD/OSD/ISA, JCS, AND STATE'S AF AND IO BUREAUS WITH A HIGH LEVEL FRENCH DELEGATION IN NEW YORK JUNE 11 (REF B). ONCE THE USG AND FRENCH HAD REACHED A CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS, THE FRENCH PRESENTED A TEXT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WHICH WAS TAKEN UP IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS (REF C) AND ADOPTED (REF D).

4. (C) THE SECOND STAGE OF MULTILATERAL ACTION IN RWANDA CANNOT BE THOROUGHLY ANALYZED UNTIL AN AGREEMENT

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BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IS FINALIZED AND SIGNED AT ARUSHA, TANZANIA. THE ARUSHA ACCORD MAY BE SIGNED BY THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) AS EARLY AS JULY 15. REPORTEDLY, THE ACCORD WILL CALL FOR THE UN TO SEND A NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) TO INTERPOSE ITSELF IN THE 70-MILE WIDE BUFFER ZONE BETWEEN THE TWO FORCES' FRONT LINES. THIS WILL CREATE THE ATMOSPHERE OF STABILITY WHICH WILL ENABLE THE ALMOST ONE MILLION DISPLACED PERSONS TO RETURN SAFELY TO THEIR HOMES. THE OAU IS CURRENTLY IN THE BUFFER ZONE WITH A NEUTRAL MONITORING AND OBSERVING GROUP (NMOG), WHICH BY ALL ACCOUNTS IS NOT/NOT DOING A VERY GOOD JOB.

PRD-13

5. (S) THE PROPOSED NIF (ALTHOUGH NOT FULLY FLESHED OUT) SEEMS TO GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS FULFILLING THE CRITERIA IN PRD-13. A) THE THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL ORDER INCLUDES INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION BY REBEL FORCES LOCATED ACROSS THE BORDER IN UGANDA AND A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER INVOLVING ALMOST ONE MILLION DISPLACED WHO HAVE FLED THEIR HOMES IN THE FACE OF VIOLENCE. B) THE

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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF INTEREST IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE PRESENCE OF OAU FORCES IN RWANDA, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 846 ESTABLISHING A BORDER MONITORING GROUP, AND THE TANZANIAN-FACILITATED PEACE TALKS IN ARUSHA WHICH ARE OBSERVED BY SEVERAL CONCERNED COUNTRIES INCLUDING THE U.S. C) THE CLEAR OBJECTIVES, WHICH SHOULD BE CLARIFIED BY THE ARUSHA ACCORD, SEEM TO BE  
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THOSE OF A CLASSICAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN WHICH A CEASEFIRE EXISTS AND BOTH SIDES ACCEPT THE PKO. THIS PROPOSED FORCE DOES NOT APPEAR TO SPILL OVER INTO PEACE ENFORCEMENT. THE PEACEMAKING HAS ALREADY BEEN (ALMOST) ACCOMPLISHED BY THE TANZANIANS. D) THIS IS THE AREA WHERE SOME QUESTIONS REMAIN. PARTICULARLY, THE QUESTIONS OF FINANCING AND WHETHER THE MANDATE SHOULD BE TAKEN UP BY THE UN OR OAU ARE STILL AT ISSUE.

PRO

6. (U) THE SECRETARIAT, AS WELL AS SOME MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE DONOR COMMUNITY, ARE WILLING TO ACCEDE TO THE ANTICIPATED REQUEST FOR A UN-LED NIF. THEY SAY THERE IS A MORAL OBLIGATION FOR THE UN TO HELP BRING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS WHEN ASKED. THIS IS ONE CASE WHERE BOTH PARTIES ACTUALLY SEEM TO BE DISPLAYING THE WILL TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND MOVE TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AS OPPOSED TO OTHER AREAS

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(E.G. ANGOLA, BOSNIA, GEORGIA) WHERE THE GOODWILL OF THE  
PROTAGONISTS IS QUESTIONABLE. THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN  
HOLDING FOR QUITE SOME TIME. UN PEACEKEEPERS IN RWANDA  
WOULD HAVE A REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE OF EFFECTIVELY

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BRINGING PEACE TO MILLIONS OF SUFFERING PEOPLE. TURNING  
AWAY FROM THIS CALL FOR HELP COULD HAVE TRAGIC HUMAN  
CONSEQUENCES.

7. (U) FINANCIALLY, THE SECRETARIAT REALIZES IT WILL  
COST LESS TO PUT A PKO IN PLACE FOR A LIMITED TIME  
ALLOWING THE POPULATION TO RETURN TO ITS VILLAGES, THAN  
TO PAY FOR THE FEEDING AND UPKEEP OF ONE MILLION PEOPLE  
IN REFUGEE CAMPS.

8. (C) SUPPORTING THE NEED FOR A UN ROLE, THIS POINT OF  
VIEW CITES THE POOR JOB THE OAU HAS BEEN DOING TO DATE.  
THE OAU HAS BEEN DRAGGING ITS FEET IN PROPOSING CONCRETE

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WAYS TO SHORE UP ITS OPERATION, DESPITE A VISIT BY A SECONDED OFFICER FROM UN DPKO. THERE ARE COMPLAINTS THAT THE OAU IS INEXPERIENCED, CORRUPT, INCOMPETENT, LACKING IN FUNDS, ETC. THE UN HAS THE EXPERTISE TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE. UN SYG BOUTROS-GHALI EXPRESSED THIS POINT OF VIEW TO THE PERMREPS OF FRANCE, BELGIUM AND THE U.S. IN THE SPRING. OF THE P-5, THE FRENCH ARE MOSTLY STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF HAVING A UN-LED PKO, SINCE THEY ARE STAUNCHLY AGAINST THE OAU, WHICH IS ALSO OUT OF FAVOR WITH THE GOR.

CON

9. (C) ARGUING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, RUSSIA AND THE UK ARE LEARY OF UNDERWRITING ANOTHER COSTLY PKO. BOTH HAVE SAID THEY DO NOT HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE MERITS OF THE FORCE, ONLY WITH THE FINANCING. HOWEVER,  
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RUSSIA MIGHT GO SO FAR AS TO VETO A RESOLUTION PUTTING THE BURDEN ON THE UN. ALSO, THE SECRETARIAT FEARS THE ARUSHA ACCORD'S REQUEST MAY BE FOR A BIGGER (READ "MORE EXPENSIVE") PKO THAN IS FEASIBLE. THEY MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RUSTLE UP THE REQUISITE NUMBER OF TROOP CONTRIBUTORS.

10. (S) PRD-13 DISCUSSES THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION THAT REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CAN POTENTIALLY MAKE TO PEACEKEEPING ONCE THEY ENHANCE THEIR COMPETENCE AND EXPERIENCE. BY HANDING THE RWANDA NIF TO THE UN, THE OAU LOSES AN OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN ON THE GROUND HOW PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS SHOULD AND SHOULD NOT BE DONE. FAILURE TO LEARN QUICKLY, OF COURSE, RUNS THE RISK OF DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LIVES AND WELL-BEING OF MILLIONS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

IMAGINATIVE ALTERNATIVES NEEDED

11. (C) IF THE UN AND THE OAU CAN FIND A WAY TO RUN AN OPERATION JOINTLY, MUCH LIKE THE OAS AND UN HAVE DONE IN HAITI, THERE MAY BE THE POSSIBILITY OF FUNDING SUCH AN OPERATION THROUGH VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, OR THROUGH CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND. THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS, WHO HAVE THE KEENEST NATIONAL INTERESTS IN RWANDA, HAVE

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EXPRESSED RELUCTANCE TO CONTRIBUTE, BUT SHOULD BE  
PRESSED TO DO SO. OTHERS SUCH AS THE SCANDINAVIANS MAY  
BE WILING TO CONTRIBUTE. AFRICAN MILITARY CONTINGENTS  
WITH PRIOR UN PEACEKEEPING EXPERIENCE COULD BE SOUGHT,  
AND PLACED UNDER SOME TYPE OF JOINT COMMAND TO TAKE

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ADVANTAGE OF THE UN'S PRIOR EXPERIENCE. MILITARY  
OFFICERS FROM NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD BE RECRUITED  
BY THE UN AND SECONDED TO THE RWANDA OPERATION. ANY OR  
ALL OF THE ABOVE WOULD GO AGAINST PRECEDENT FOR UN  
PKO'S, AND WOULD REQUIRE IMAGINATIVE INNOVATIONS.

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